101 /4 cont./
175 French and English have been propelling their respective cultural
177 influences toward the heart of Guiana.

8. Since when I talk about these Indians I might seem
123 partial because of the great affection which I have for them
114 and which they similarly have for me, I prefer to yield the floor to the illustrious ethnologist of Stuttgart, who asserts that the Taurepán Indians are the most pleasant, intelligent, /5/ and even the most physically perfect among all of the natives whom he came to know in his many excursions through the South American continent.

159 In a propaganda article I recall having written: "These Indians are pleasant in their dealings, in their manners, and in their language; they are hospitable, they are suspicious but never hostile toward strangers; they have a great love for their land, for their rivers, and for the places where they live, and they are very fond of pondering its beauties and like it very much when others praise them."

Elsewhere I also wrote and must repeat here: "With regard to their intellectual qualities I believe, as do most missionaries, that these Indians are not dull of wit nor lacking in morality. They have undoubtedly an excess of imagination with the consequences thereof, this being a characteristic of all who live in direct contact with, and as though absorbed by, virgin nature. The lack of stimulus toward all that is outside their ancestral standard or canon of life has given rise to their being called lazy or indolent, which we believe an unjust bad report."

114 9. The ethnographic or racial characteristics of the Pemón Indians can be examined in these words, which in the interest
● [262] of greater brevity I copy from Dr. Simpson: "They subsist
[276] principally on cassava and ají; and they use tobacco; they use
[411] blowguns and poison arrows; they poison rivers to catch fish;
[226] they build semipermanent houses and sleep in hammocks;
[342] originally they did not wear clothing or only a simple loincloth;
[513] formerly they practiced empollamiento /"breeding, hatching"/
[291]

/12 cont./

(not exempt from flattery), an innate sense of justice before the faults of another whom he judges inexorably, or before his own which he deplores with hasty repentance; a tenderness, superficial to be sure, but quick to bubble over in candid expressions. Together with this he has a delicate feeling of brotherhood, which leads him to share spontaneously with his neighbors his food and his provisions (but not real or personal property). In a word, all that mixture, so full of contrasts, of the qualities and defects of the child: this is the Indian."

342 181 29. I would not have dared to say so much as: "The Indian is nature," but I do repeat and comment that the Indian is the faithful mirror of the virgin nature in which he lives; and I also say that the soul of the Indian has its most perfect symbol in his house, or maloca. (This word is Brazilian and is the equivalent of bohío, or rustic house.)

342 The maloca is a microcosm: circular at its base, made of sticks and mud (bahareque), with its opening toward the east, it stands upon any hill or rise, as though it were an observatory; conical in its roof of straw or palm, it seems to stick up like a lightning rod to receive all the vibrations of the cosmos which surrounds and envelops it. Inside the maloca [415] is full of budares /baking pans/ brought from the hills for [252] toasting cassava, ollas of clay dug from the lake bottoms for [262] cooking the highly seasoned kumachi or refreshing kachiri, and all the vegetable kingdom from roots and stalks to fruits and [231] leaves, transported in their guayares. Add to all this the animal kingdom, birds, deer, etc., domesticated by the tenderness of the woman and made pleasant by the morning dawn or the evening twilight, and the maloca will appear to your eyes like some new Noah's Ark, floating in the middle of creation, like a rustic temple of nature herself. /13/

181 155 In this same fashion the Indian lives as though inebriated, dominated and absorbed by nature; when he returns each evening to his maloca with mapire full of fish, with his

P /26 cont./

261 Those who have observed the poor means of sustenance of
● 262 the Indians after long days' journeys, sometimes carrying heavy loads on their backs, that is to say, a frugal piece of cassava and a seasoning of aji in powder or broth, can tell me if anywhere can be found such abstinent men.

P 261 But, to look at the other side of the coin, you would have to see the quantity of drink that they are capable of consuming or the food that they dare to ingest when good luck in fishing or hunting furnishes them with good daily allowances.

G 56. Concerning this matter I have no scruples about copying what the authors of the Geographia Universal /Universal
114 261 Geography/ (Barcelona, 1917, ed. Montaner) say about the
251 Guiana Indians, quoting J. Rodway: "Usually, the Indians'
433 provisions are limited; their farming is limited by the fact that the /27/ woman has to do the work. A bad season, a flood, for example, reduces him to almost nothing, and then hunger becomes master of the tribe....Even when there is a good harvest, provisions are sometimes wasted in deplorable orgies and merrymaking. This is the great blot on the character of the Indian."

ono 57. But let us remember, in exoneration of the Indians, that this bad custom of yielding to gluttony of those who are normally hungry or who are hungrily penniless was already attributed by Cervantes to poor students when he wrote of them: "and that gorging with so much gusto when fortune regaled them with some banquet." And our folk proverbs contain these two quite significant sayings: "Let Martha die and may she die stuffed" and "The poor man's proverb: better to burst than
P have any left over."

251 Let us remember also that they are incited to this gluttony
261 in part by the condition of tropical fruits, which do not keep.
[262 Of the fruits cultivated by the Indians almost the only one that
[252 can be kept indefinitely is cassava, pan de yuca, in the form of a cake, or better, in the form of mañoca or toasted flour. Expressions like "to make hay while the sun shines" and the

/27 cont./

like have no meaning in these regions. Therefore authors very correctly say: "The Indian is not economical; this virtue is unknown in the tropics."

58. Worse than the intemperance of the Indians in food are their excesses in drink. We continue quoting: "Their vehement addiction is drink, which they themselves prepare"; kachirí itself and various types of carato. And from excessive drinking, here as everywhere, and more when the fermentation continues in the stomach, come the foams of ire and lustfulness. "When the Indian is in his cups, he is no longer the gentle man of the forest; he brags of his bravery and provokes arguments that end in fights, with their resulting tribute of blood.... The women also take part in these orgies and lose their habitually modest behavior," shy and chaste.

The kachirí of the Indians, which in its many varieties is always a purée in fermentation, is something that they consider so necessary for their daily diet that, as Fr. Eulogio de Villarín wrote with beautiful hyperbole: "there would be a shortage of water in the rivers before one of kachirí among the Indians." Its lack brings about serious ill humor on the part of the men against their women; and with greater embarrassment than the husbands of Caná (Caanan) will the Indians say to their guests that they have no kachirí.

Hunger, properly, for the Indian, is the lack of vegetable food, in the form of kachirí, sakura, etc., which they call /28/ iuán; in contrast the lack of game (animal food) is called tarui, which does not refer to satiety but to vigour. In order to understand all of this well, bear in mind that the diet of these Indians lies on the following bases: drinks, various purées, fermented or not, made with plantains /plátanos/, bananas /cambures/, maize, ocumo, etc., and which receive the names yeukú and kachirí; bread, made with bitter yucca, in the form of toasted flour or mañoco and preferably in the form of cakes of cassava; sauce, the juice /yare/ of bitter yucca

/28 cont./

262 cooked down until thick, kumachí, and the extremely "hot" ají in various forms; products of fishing, fowling, and hunting, depending on the wealth of the region and the skill and weapons of the men, who preferentially dedicate their days to this.

535 59. On a par with the intemperance of the Indians in drinking, and a consequence of it, is their fondness for dances. For all peoples the proverb was made: "From the belly comes the dance"; but among the Indians, dance and kachirí form a perfect equation; in practice the words dancers and drunks can [534] be considered synonymous. The drum, made of monkeyskin, the rué pipe, the harsh yagrumo tube, and the happy rattles of the kevei begin and end their sounds precisely at the beginning and end of the pouring of parakarí, paiuá, or any of the other 527 kinds of kachirí. When Indians are interrogated about the 535 object of their fiesta trips, with equal candor and without the slightest embarrassment they will answer that they are going to 273 dance or that they are going to get drunk. And when they do their planting they often told me that they were planting things to get drunk with, rather than thinking of their bread.

797 60. Unfortunately for the Indians, the dance, accompanied 535 by the use of alcohol or alcoholic beverages, had in the area 273 around Roroima, in the three nations grouped about this hydro- 171 graphic node (Venezuela, Brazil and British Guiana), Protestant propagandists, called Hallelujahns. The imaginative lucidity and that indefinable sensation of liberation from the material, which momentarily seem communicated by rhythmic dancing and alcohol and other drugs and infusions, were presented to the Indians by the said propagandists as a celestial illustration, liberation of the spirit and communication with the supersensible world.

This was raining on sop, since the Indians were already on their own too inclined toward drink, and that theory of the liberation of the spirit was also that of their piaches: so that the fondness for liquor was stuck into them like a clinched nail.

/35 cont./

264 515 76. Again such ridiculous things as drinking cassave by all those eating together into the same olla or dish and drinking from the same camaza or cup are still the etiquette of the majority of the human race and remind us of the Biblical "qui intingit manum mecum in catino." And the chewed 273 kachirí, which has now almost entirely given way to that 262 515 mashed with little mills or wooden mashers, could not but remind us of pap, which not too many years ago was given to children, or who knows is still given them.

000 Further, these things are neither so repugnant nor so dangerous as is assumed. And thus, for example, Ramón y Cajal, who in one of his humorous remarks defined the kiss as "an interchange of oral microbes," and to those who took the matter too seriously later said in his "Charlas de Café /Coffee Chats/" that such microbes were harmless from the hygienic point of view.

302 We would like to say very much the same thing regarding the grotesque paintings with annatto, caruto, and other vegetable dyes which are used by men and women /36/ for personal adornment on dance days and during periods when they are love, since they are not different from the cosmetics and annointments of our maidens.

262 And the worms, which develop in fallen trunks of the moriche and other palms in a state of natural decay, the bachaos, and other similar insects at the time of reproducing, the young of certain insects in the larval or pupal state, which the Indians eat, are, neither in their origin, smell, or taste (I speak from experience) in the slightest degree repugnant nor inferior to worm cheese, so highly regarded in some parts of Europe. Everything is a matter of custom!

515 [827] 77. The Indians in their natural life bathe quite frequently; and they are greatly repelled by the smell of the porcupine, which is what they call underarm sweat, and which is one of the reasons for their aversion to individuals of the Negro race.

/59 cont./
the bloody element, which for all primitive people and for all children is a synomym for vigor, spirit, and health. This step is really critical; frequently it is feared, it is surrounded with mystery, and in many cases even goes so far as to produce hysteria and mental disorders; and it is frequently the point of departure for many disturbances both organic and moral. Thus, in both senses did Father Vilariño, S. J., say that the age between 14 and 24 years was the decade of death.

125. The Pemón distinguish in a girl three ages: true girlhood, in which she is muré; an intermediate one, in which she is /60/ manak-dakán, when her breasts are about to appear; and puberty, in which she is auroni-pué, in which menstruation has occurred.

126. This third age is one of confinement and diet for a more or less long period. The Pemón do not build special ranchos apart for these pubescent girls, but small apartments within the common house itself, or, more exactly, garrets as in high habitations. It seems that formerly the confinement and diet were more rigorous and prolonged; now they are only observed in the two or three first manifestations of menstruation.

According to notes of my native collaborator, Ernesto Pinto Armellada, which I have before me, among the principal foodstuffs prohibited to pubescent girls were moriche worms, turkey hens, deer, etc., in order to avoid bad childbirth; in addition, salt and sweetness, so that their teeth will not be damaged, since it is already known that "formerly women chewed kachirí."

127. The object of this confinement is not making them pale nor to keep them away from men's glances, but to preserve them from the assaults of lustful or lovesick spirits, such as amariuak, rató, mayikó, rató, etc.

When detailing the observances prescribed by the ancients for this age in women, it is said that:

a) they must lie down in the hammock in the straightest position possible;

Hunting

/82 cont./

and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver, traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater, manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas, large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls. Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location: the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings, garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children. Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets. Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only. Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh, other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/, flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama /gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers. The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava and mañoco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes, been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization: knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files, mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But they still remember a time when they used to make their loincloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone

related meanings, one for the fire-making apparatus and one for the fire itself (as well as firewood, etc.). If this is true, it is exceptional in showing phonetically and semantically advanced forms in Kamarakoto.

113. Coal, brand (tisón) — apoi' - tsaupan.

114. Ash — benuna.

115. Charcoal — kadarrma-tipwa.

116. Hearth, firehole — apoi' -piapo' .

Dishes, or ways of preparing food (see notes elsewhere):

117. kumasa

118. putosa

119. pusa

120. kambwo

121. erindasa

122. Meat — pun. Bird-meat, toron-pun; fish-meat, moro-pun, etc.

123. Calabash or gourd bowl — kamo'.

124. *Gourd spoon — koireka. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kuira. Makuchi (Williams) kuire (defined as a word for calabash used near the Ireng River). Koch-Grünberg equates this word with the Portuguese colher but this does not seem probable. The object is aboriginal, not an importation from Brazil, and it seems extremely improbable that the Kamarakotos would ever have received and adopted such an exotic name for this common native object. The phonetic resemblance is not close.

125. Gourd bottle — wai.

126. Juice — yeuku. Sugarcane-juice, Kaña-yeuku; corn-juice, anai-yeuku; etc.

127. Juice of casave (yuca) — kumachi.

Alcoholic drinks (more exactly defined elsewhere):

128. kachiri.

129. paiba

130. parakari

131. akeüyeüka

132. *Earthenware cooking vessel — o.ina. Taurepán, o.üna, o.ũna, ĩna. Makuchi (Williams), oi-nə. Yanarana (Koch-Grünberg) hõline. Most other languages agree with Yanarana in having an -r- (or -l-) between the first two vowels of this word. E.g. (all from Adam), Galibi arina-to, Cumanagoto erina-k, erine, Opone orine, etc. The unusual separation of o and i in the Kamarakoto word, o.i instead of the common diphthong oi, is thus explained.

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word. This is the Carib root from which the English "peccary" and the Venezuelan "báquiro" are derived, although the latter has been wrongly transferred to the next species.

302. Peccary, local Spanish "báquiro," Tayassu albirostris. — poi.nga, poyinga. Taurepán, piyinga, po.inga. Makuchi (Williams) po-in-ga (po.inga). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) poyinge. Kalíña (de Goeje) pi:ndya.

303. Peccary, Tayassu albirostris, poetic word — po.i:nimo, poyini. These appear in songs and magic chants but are not used in everyday speech.

[533]

304. Wild beast, savage peccary — tauka:namo, taka:naimo. Taurepán, tõkõnoma. The Kamarakoto word was recorded only in songs and may be a magic or poetic word, although not specifically stated to be such. It was explained as meaning a wild or dangerous beast in general, or a savage peccary in particular. A Taurepán similarly told me that it was not a definite sort of animal but was a word applied to a peccary (piyinga) that is particularly large and fierce. 75

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305. Domestic pig, local Spanish "cochino," "marrano" — kochino. The Kamarakotos have no pigs but one was once brought in and its Spanish name is remembered. (The goat, sheep, cow, donkey, and horse have never been introduced and no words for them can be said to exist in this dialect.)

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114

b. Birds. Our party included no ornithologist and the bird names casually gathered were for the most part identified only by local Spanish vernacular names. In some cases the information given by Koch-Grünberg and Williams for related dialects will help to place the birds, although it must be remembered that the tribes sometimes apply cognate words to different things. Many of the bird names appear to be onomatopoeic.

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306. Bird (in general) — toron.

307. Egg (in general, also fish and reptile eggs) — (i)moi.

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● 262

(a) Birds commonly eaten.

308. "Pava" - Penelope sp. — okira. Taurepán — wo'ra. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) okela. Akawai (de Goeje) okura. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) woki:la. The peculiar interval stop, ', in the Taurepán word apparently is a vestige of the former syllable ki, ke, or ku.

75 [see footnote on p.315, category 116 - Analyst]

309. "Pava," smaller variety — paraka.
310. "Guacharaca" — karmaiba.
311. *Dove — wakuwa. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wakuːwa, "dove"
312. *Paují — pabiˀ. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pawiˀ, "Hokko (Crax sp.)." Makuchi (Williams) pau-wi, "Crested curassow, Crax nigra."
313. "Poncha" — tsurima.
314. *"Gallineta" — marui. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) maːluˀ, "Inambu, partridge." Makuchi (Williams) ma-ru, "Great tinamou, Tinamus major."
315. "Zorro" (bird) — oroiːbo.
316. "Perdiz" — kuruiˀ.
317. *"Grulla" — namai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) namai, "Psophia crepitans."
318. *Bird resembling a "pava" with red eyes — kota. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kotɛˀ, "curicaca" (same as Kamarakoto word?).
319. *"Piapoca," *toucan with white breast — kuyapo. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) Kuyawe, "Toucan with red-black bill" (same as Kamarakoto word?).
320. *"Piapoca," toucan with red breast — kõrma. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) Kõːlema, "small toucan."
321. *Smaller toucan with yellow breast with transverse black stripe — parpari. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg), palupali, "very small toucan."
322. Toucan similar to the last but very small — kamata.
323. *Domestic fowl — kõroitoko. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) tsupara, kalicho. Northern Gran Sabana (on authority of the Kamarakotos) Karibana, supara.[76] Makuchi (Koch-Grünberg) in Nordenskiöld, galiwana, dzuˀpala (= tsupara). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) galijo (j as in English). Purakotó (Koch-Grünberg) kalaka. Akawai (Schomburgk) kariwina.[77] "Carib" (a coastal group) of Venezuela (Tavera-Acosta) Koroktoko. Kaliña (de Goeje) Korotoko.

Nordenskiöld (1922) has mapped and discussed South American Indian names for the domestic fowl in considerable detail, although he devotes least attention to the northeastern region. The great variety of names in this area, differing even in neighboring and closely allied tribes, is curious and suggests that the history was considerably more complex than a single and rapid spread from one center of introduction. It is particularly interesting that the Kamarakoto word is entirely unlike any recorded for other Arekunas or any nearby tribes, but it is like that of the more distant coastal groups like the Kaliña, as if they had received fowls not from their neighbors but directly from the coast. The

76, 77 [see footnotes on p. 345, category 116 - Analyst]

*197 825 word is clearly onomatopoeic, but not so obvious that it is likely that so close a resemblance arose by chance. Compare the also fairly widespread but quite different onomatopoeic word karaka, kalaka, etc. It is also very curious and confusing in this connection that the Taurepánes (Koch-Grünberg) call the owl (not fowl) koro:toiko, which is certainly very near the Kamarakoto word for "fowl." Unfortunately, (being unaware of its possible importance) I failed to record the Kamarakoto word for "owl."

Of the other names that appear in this region, kariwana and its many variants are supposed by Nordenskiöld to come from "gallina," which seems probable although a little uncertain. Supara, etc., may be related to "Lingoa geral" sapukaya, zapugala, etc., and suggests introduction from Brazil. The tribes that have it are, in fact, near and in trade relations with Brazilian tribes. It is curious that several of these tribes also use different names of probable Spanish (northern Venezuelan ?) origin as if two streams of diffusion met here. Variants of the root stem in Taurepán kalicho have a very spotty known distribution: Only in Taurepán, Oyana, Pianacoto, and Ingarikó (all Carib dialects). I can offer no suggestion as to the origin of this word, possible connection with "gallo" or with the kalaka groups of words being too speculative for serious consideration.

[193] The Kamarakotos differentiate hens and roosters, if need be, by suffixing wari', "female," and warato, "male," to kõroitoko.

*197 825 ● 262 (b) Birds not usually eaten.

324. Vulture — kurun. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kurun, "white-headed vulture."

325. *Small green parrot — kaikai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaikai, "periquito." Makuchi (Williams) kai-kai, "Hahn's macaw, Ara hahni (or perhaps Conurus nobilis)."

326. *Another, smaller parrot — kũrikũri. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kilikili, "very small periquito." Makuchi (Williams) ki-ri-ki-ri, "all-green parrot, Brotogeris tirica."

327. *Large parrot with red feathers — wadara (quite distinct from wadaura). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) waya:ra (y sibilant), "red arara." Makuchi (Williams) wa-tha-ra, "scarlet macaw, Ara macao."

328. "Moriche" (bird) — wadaura. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wadaura (d fricative), "black nightingale." (This is not a nightingale but a bird resembling the troupial and sometimes mistaken for it.)

329. *Hummingbird — tukui'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) tukui, "hummingbird."

330. *"Chupacacao" — kadau-kadau. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kodo:kodo, "anu-like bird."
331. *"Ancoreta" — oimi. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) woimeˀ, "anu, black, like the European magpie in form and color."
332. Unidentified small bird (in the legend of Maichaˀ) — kurinata.
333. *"Guardacamino" — tabaru. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) tawalu, "uacuraua, night-swallow." Makuchi (Williams, citing Chubb) tawara, "Podager nacunda, the Nacunda nighthawk."

c. Reptiles.

334. *Snake (in general) — okõi. Taurepán, õkõi.
335. Tiger-snake — paraurata.
336. Boa — aura.
337. Rattlesnake — tsakasaˀ.

Other snakes (not seen or identified) —

338. pararaipu.
339. saroraima, poisonous, (probably the bushmaster or an allied species).
340. kamaritse.
341. kamaitaparu.

342. *Wood tortoise — adamori. Taurepán, wadamori.
343. Sabana tortoise — karume.
344. *Water turtle, probably the matamata — pei. Taurepán, pi-tura.

Lizards:

345. Spiny rock-lizard — enwaraˀ.
346. Large edible lizard, "iguana" — ayamaka.
347. "Mato" — waim tsa.
348. "Mato de agua" — sɛrɛbai.
349. Doubtful, perhaps another name for, or a variety of, the "mato de agua" — ari-kapa.
350. Common house-lizard — okopiˀ.
351. *Caiman, or Yacare, local Spanish "baba" — akaːre. Taurepán, akare, (Koch-Grünberg) yakaːre. This is a Tupi, or "Lingoa geral" word that has been adopted in most Carib dialects as well as most European languages.
352. *Crocodile, local Spanish "caimán"[78] — kuraːtu. Taurepán, kuratu.

d. Amphibians.

353. Frog — waroma. Taurepán, waroˀma.
354. Toad — põlɛːa (the last vowel very short and not stressed, could be written põlɛa). Taurepán, põreu-tukuˀ.

[78] [see footnote on p. 315, category 116 — Analyst]

825 e. Fishes.
262

355. Fish (in general) — moro'.
The following are names of favorite food fishes. None was well identified.

356. aimara. — (also called "aimara" in local Spanish). Probably Macrodon (or Erythrinus) sp.

357. uru:yi. — Interpreted as "rayado," a large striped fish. Perhaps Platystoma sp.

358. warako. — Interpreted as "boquina."

359. warapa. — Interpreted as "agua dulce" (as a name — the Indian word does not mean "fresh-water"). Probably the "pirarucu" of Brazil. Arapaima sp.

360. kəpauri. — Interpreted as "sardina." Apparently applied to a number of very small fishes.

361. Caribe, piranha — tsipirai'.

362. Unidentified fish — wararo (wararo-yeupu = "wararo bones," used of a style of bead-work and wararo said to be a fish, not the warako).

*197 f. Invertebrates.
825

363. Edible larvae: white larva found in the Oenocarpus palm — tsiya'.

364. big yellow larva found in the Mauritius palm — iwo.

365. *Ant — atsimikə. (So recorded and said to be ants in general, but probably for atsi-mikə, a particular kind of ant.) Taurepán, mikə. Makuchi (Hübner quoted by Koch-Grünberg) mika. Trio (de Goeje) moikõ. Oyana (de Goeje) musikõ. Williams questions whether this is a Carib word and notes the resemblance to Spanish and Portuguese "hormiga," "formiga." I have no doubt that it is pure Carib and that this resemblance, such as it is, is quite fortuitous.

366. *Bachaco (large, plump, ant-like insect) — kaiba', kaiba-yun (yun = "father"). Taurepán, kaiba', kaiba'-yunkun. These words may be related to kaiba, kaiwa, kaiwao, etc., "fat" in some Carib dialects, although I did not record this meaning in Kamarakoto or Taurepán.

367. *Fly — berbɛ'. Taurepán, weruwe, werwe.

368. *Gnat — nung . Taurepán, nung .

369. *Mosquito — matsa'. Taurepán, masa'.

370. *Termite — muna'. Taurepán, muna, merwa.

371. *Dragonfly — pirmo, pirəmo. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pi:lumo'.

372. *Butterfly — abakaparu. Taurepán, wakau. (Koch-Grünberg)

824 426. Araguaney. – Tecoma sp. — ura:padɛ' (for ura:pa-yɛ', "bow-wood," the wood being used for bows).

427. Ceibo ("kapok tree"). = perhaps Ceiba sp., but other genera yield a similar fiber — asare-yɛ'.

428. Canjilon — pori:tadɛ' (for pori:ta-yɛ').

429. Peraman. Symphonia sp., a latex-yielding tree — ponoi' (-yɛ').

430. Balatá (the tree) = Mimusops sp. — purwe-yɛ'.

431. Balatá (the gum) —purwe-yeuku (i.e. "balatá juice") or koma (Spanish word, "goma").

432. Purguo = Mimusops sp. — purweidyɛ' (for purwei-yɛ' cf. purwe-yɛ', above). My informant believed this to be distinct from the (in any case clearly allied) purwe-yɛ', but I suspect that the words are the same and that all balatá-yielding trees are so-called. "Purguo" is from the Carib word.

433. Carrizo — lue-yɛ' (i.e. "flute-wood").

* [197] 434. *Bamboo: large species — waronga-yɛ'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) oronga.

435. *Small species — kas -yɛ'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaɛdɛ, kaikara.

436. Yara-yara — tsimarandyɛ' (for tsimaran-yɛ').

437. Cedro[80] — kopei-dyɛ' (for kopei-yɛ').

438. Arbol de la vaca ("Cowe-tree") — yumadyɛ' (for yuma-yɛ').

439. Sasafrás = Acroclidium or Nectandra sp. — waidawau-urai-yɛ', waidawaurai-yɛ'.

440. Tree (not identified) with very hard, dark wood — ayu-yɛ'.

441. Tree (not identified) with soft, white wood — paunɛdɛ' (for paune-yɛ').

442. Wood used to make blow guns: inner tube — sanwoto.

443. outer tube — yurwa.

* [197] 444. Grass — wana'. Taurepán, wana'.

445. Unidentified plant — murun-yɛ'. The wood is used for the fore-shaft of arrows.

824 ●262 Mushroom. There is no general word for "mushroom" or "fungus" but the following are names of edible fungi: -

446. ɛnura.

447. kara-kara.

448. kwarampana (i.e., "sloth ear," from its form).

449. akuripana (i.e., "acure ear," from its form).

Wild fruits. The following (with the kwai, "moriche fruit," already listed above) are the principal edible wild fruits:-

450. algarrobo, possibly Hymenaea sp. — wadɛ.

Guamo = fruits of Inga spp.

80 [see footnote on p. 316, category 116 – Analyst]

451. Green-shelled, forest form — warwoto.
452. Yellow-shelled, stream-bank form — abira.
453. Very long, green variety — maipa.
454. Maripa (Maximiliana) fruit — aba'.
455. Small, round, yellow fruit, not identified — made.

(Numbers 180, 181, 182, 183, 189, 190, 191, and 192 are also plants, listed elsewhere in connection with their uses.)

Nature. Time.

456. *Sun — be. Taurepán, wüi, wei.
457. *Moon — Kapui. Taurepán, Kapui.
458. Dawn — auyukana.
459. Day — bene (from be, "sun," but be above is apparently used also to mean "day" and the word bene, produced out of context and after long cogitation by my informant, is doubtful, it may mean "during the day").
460. *Night — warbə. Taurepán, warga. (Koch-Grünberg) wa:lupə.
461. *Cloud — katuri'. Taurepán, katu'ru'.
462. *Shy — ka'. Taurepán, ka'.
463. *Wind — iroma. Taurepán, iroma.
464. *Rain — kono'. Taurepán, kono'.
465. Earth, clay, mud — non.
466. *Precious metal, silver (or sometimes gold) — pun. I could not distinguish this word phonetically from that for "meat," nor do I find it in allied dialects practically all of which use the Spanish "plata."
467. *Gold — oro, woro'. This is the Spanish "oro," of which woro' appears to be only a particularly "Kamarakotized" pronunciation. There is a Carib root for "gold," cf. Makuchi (Williams) karu-kari, but my Kamarakoto informants always used the Spanish word.
468. *Dry season — tolongan. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wei-yayenesa' (wei = "sun"). See next word.
469. *Rainy season — ipukupə. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kono-yayenesa' (kono' = "rain"). I have been unable to find any sure cognates of the Kamarakoto words for the seasons or to trace their derivation. This one appears to be a verbal form.
470. *Today — tsiredau. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) seleuale.
471. *Yesterday — kogmiyau. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) koomeya'.
472. *Tomorrow — penane. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) penane.

123 While we were camped near Uruyén as many as forty Indian visitors
574 were sometimes present at Uruyén at one time and every structure there was
573 crowded with hammocks, including the wall-less B, although Kamarakotos
784 dislike sleeping without walls, but even under this pressure no one occupied F or G or used them for any purpose.

Food

262 The Kamarakotos will eat practically everything available in their region
433 from which humans can extract any nourishment, but their main reliance is on
241 agriculture. Wild food, plant and animal, plays a valued part in their diet but its failure is not fatal. Cultivated plants are the staple foods, and their failure means starvation. Contrary to the general impression, it is extremely difficult and precarious to live off the country in the tropical jungles and sabanas. The Kamarakotos must be classed as agricultural Indians.

Plant Foods and Farming.

222 Wild plant food is relatively unimportant and forms only an insignificant
262 addition to the Kamarakoto diet. At least four non-poisonous mushrooms are known and eaten. I did not hear of any wild roots or seeds that are commonly eaten. There are a few, surprisingly few, wild fruits that are enjoyed in season, including the fruits of the maripa and moriche palms, called aba? and kwai respectively, and several sorts of guamos, pods with a sweetish edible pulp surrounding the hard seeds (warwoto, maipa, abira), and the algarrobo (wadɛ) with somewhat similar pods with a powdery edible substance around the seeds. These with a fruit called madɛ that I did not identify are almost all the wild plants that provide food.

241 Cultivated food plants, on the other hand, are numerous and varied. Some plants, food and otherwise, are generally planted more or less at random around the houses, notably gourds, cotton, and pupu (a shrub with spiny leaves and a fleshy fruit that looks like a golden-yellow tomato). Agriculture, properly speaking, is carried out by a system of mixed, temporary farm-patches, a wasteful and inefficient type of farming that has been taken over from the Indians and is common throughout Venezuela where such patches are called "conucos."

241 The Kamarakoto conuco, uma, is invariably located in the forest, but
311 usually near its edge. The reason for this is that the forest has become estab-
134 lished wherever there is rich soil leaving only the poor, sandy soil open and
[242] grass-covered. At Uruyén the to?-esa?, Reyes, [illegible] an unusual experimental mood, cleared a patch of sabana and planted [illegible]ve[107] on it, but when we left

107 [see footnote on p 119, category 116 - Analyst]

244 311 134 242 the experiment seemed to be a failure, the soil being too poor to grow a crop. In this vicinity the sabanas are generally on alluvial terraces, dry and sandy or pebbly, while the forests are on rich soil mainly of decomposed igneous rock.

241 To prepare a conuco, the brush and trees are cut down, the brush piled and burned and the trees, which do not entirely burn, left where they fall (see [462] Fig. 13). This work is done entirely by the men, who use steel axes and machetes for it. Planting is also done by the men,[108] but the scanty cultivation and all the harvesting is done by the women. Casave is planted in hills usually roughly alined and other plants scattered around, with the casave or separately, more or less at random (see Fig. 14).

A conuco is ordinarily abandoned after one year although some products, like bananas, continue to be gathered as long as they bear without further attention. For casave and annuals a new patch is cleared every dry season.

● [262] Casave is the staff of life and of course occupies the greater part of the conucos. Chile peppers, of which there are many kinds, are also indispensable and bananas, also varied, perhaps come next in importance. The following plants, including a few not used for food, were seen growing in the several conucos examined in Kamarata:

Casave.
Yams, (etc.). Dioscorea, at least three varieties.
Ocumos, Xanthosoma.
Sweet Potatoes.
Bananas, at least six varieties.
Plantains, at least two varieties.
Squash.
Sugar cane.
Papayas.
Watermelons.
Corn (only one variety seen, but two or three said to occur).
Chile peppers, at least six varieties.
Peanuts.
Black beans.
Pupu (see above).
Cotton.
Tobacco.

[224] Kumi (a plant not eaten but rubbed in cuts for luck in hunting).

241 177 All of these plants are rather surely pre-Columbian in this region, and probably also in this tribe, except bananas, plantains, sugar cane, and watermelons. There seems to be room for a slight doubt regarding bananas and plantains. They are generally believed to have been introduced by Europeans, but if so they spread rapidly and far almost at once after the discovery of America, and spread ahead of the actual penetration of the Europeans. Wild

108 [see footnote on p. 319, category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 125]

24/ relatives, with inedible fruit, seem more probably to be indigenous to America.
177 In any case whenever bananas appeared they are now so ancient here that they
[123] are an integral and truly native feature in Indian life. The Kamarakotos have no idea that they are not native and no legends of a time when they were not known.[109]

24/ Sugar cane is also an old introduction, although probably not so old as
262 bananas. It is hardly an essential food, but is much enjoyed. Watermelons
177 are known by the Indians to have been introduced recently. They also say that squash and beans are recent, although these are native foods and are known to them by purely Carib names. Perhaps they meant only that the particular plants now growing there are from seeds brought in from elsewhere.

24/ Although corn (i.e. maize) is known and eaten, it is not plentiful and is
262 not really a staple. These are casave and not maize Indians.

The other root plants, Dioscorea, Xanthosoma, and Ipomea are abundant and may be ranked next to casave as staples. The true potato, Solanum, is not known, and this region is lower and warmer than any in which it was cultivated in pre-Columbian times.

24/ Although cacao has been supposed to be native to this general part of South America, none was observed and it appears to be unknown to the Kamarakotos. Other noteworthy omissions of plants that are cultivated by allied tribes, for instance in British Guiana, are the several citrus fruits and the avocado ("aguacate"), Persea. The former are introduced plants that have not yet penetrated this far; the latter is a native plant that, for some unknown reason, is rare in this region where it would, nevertheless, almost surely produce well.

[132] Several useful wild plants, like species of Bromelia, Bixa, and Genipa, are sometimes planted but are not commonly cultivated forms.

Animal Foods.

23/ In distinction from plant foods, practically all animal foods are wild.
262 A solitary pig was once introduced into Kamarata (I do not know from where)
[177] but it is now dead and no others have been introduced. The only domestic ani-
[235] mals are dogs, which are not eaten, and chickens, which have recently been
[322] introduced and are not common. At Uruyén, when we were there, all the chickens were roosters — a subject for joking comment by the Indians, who have a keen (if somewhat robust) sense of humor. Some birds, especially small parrots or parakeets and moriche birds, are kept as pets but they are not bred in captivity and are not raised to eat so cannot be called domestic or food animals.

224 The favorite animal food is peccary, especially the larger species called
262 po.inga, and it is the principal goal of the hunter. The other peccary, pakira, is also prized as are the two kinds of deer, waikin and kutsari, the lapa, urana, the acure, akuri, and the tapir, maikuri (see Vocabulary for more exact identification of these animals).[1] [2]

[1] [see footnote on p. 319, category 116 - Analyst]
[2] [see vocabulary on pp. 54-59, category 116 - Analyst]

224 identification of these animals). These are the staple food animals, as nearly
262 as any can so be called. Capybaras, kapi:ba, armadillos, atsi:gamo, merum, and mauraima, and anteaters, waremg, are sometimes eaten but are not so
[261] specifically hunted. Monkeys, carnivores, sloths, opossums, and the small rodents are not regularly hunted or eaten except in times of food scarcity. Some allied Indians, even among the Arekunas, regularly eat monkeys but most of the Kamarakotos expressed distaste for monkey flesh.

In spite of the variety of food mammals available, it seems in fact to be relatively rare to obtain one and their meat, however much enjoyed when obtained, is not a staple. Few mammal bones are seen around the houses and the Indians do not claim to be able to procure such game regularly.[110]

223 Birds are more often procured, but still not regularly. They range from
262 the large okira and karmaiba down to the tiny kamata. The principal sorts eaten will be found in the Vocabulary.[1]

224 Among reptiles and amphibians only the tortoises and the larger lizards,
225 ayamaka, are ordinarily eaten, and these not often. ayamaka-eggs are an
262 eagerly sought delicacy when in season and the eggs of practically all the larger wild birds are also eaten. Most Indians eat crocodilians and the absence of these from the Kamarakoto diet is perhaps due rather to rarity and difficulty of capture than to distaste.

222 Among insects the large ant-like bachacos, kaiba', are eaten as are
262 some larvae found in palm trees, tsiya' and iwo. Other insects may be eaten
[231] in times of need but are not regular items of diet. Wild honey, tautsan-yeuku,
[237] is much prized but is not abundant enough to be a staple. I did not hear of any attempts to domesticate bees. Honey is also used for tattooing and beeswax for fastening blowguns together, coating quivers, etc.

Hunting.

224 Hunting, carried on only by men, is a favorite occupation but probably
[462] not a very productive one. One would anticipate that such Indians would be
[433] skillful hunters and certainly all the men engage in this and have abundant paraphernalia for it and many tales of their prowess, but as far as I could check
[122] the actual performance it is not impressive. For instance we employed successively two men who were agreed to be the best hunters in the tribe, arranged for them to have all their time for this, gave them whatever they wished in the way of ammunition, and offered extra prizes for any unusual success, but one of them did not succeed in getting any game and the other drew blank most days and in a week he got only one animal, an acure, that could be considered a
[262] success from the point of view of pot-hunting. I have already remarked on the
[411] evidence that animal food is more a treat than a regular item of diet. We were also unimpressed by such examples of marksmanship, with their weapons or with ours, as we saw.

[110] [see footnote on pp. 319-20, category 116 - Analyst]
[1] [see vocabulary on pp. 59-61, category 116 - Analyst]

231 We did not see dogs hunting, but there
that we saw around the homes looked extraordinarily mangy and ill-found and acted as if they could be of no possible use. Some are merely kept as pets and the children play with them but the adults generally ignore them completely. [171] None of them are watchdogs or show any courage or assertiveness. It was said that the Maquiritares raise exceptionally good hunting dogs, and that these are sometimes acquired by trading, but we saw none of this favored breed.[117] [172] The curious fact that the Kamarakotos use the Spanish word for "dog" (which they pronounce peró, not perro), although there is a widespread Carib name for them, suggests that the Kamarakotos may not have had dogs until recently, although other Carib tribes apparently have had them a long time, probably since pre-Columbian times. In any case, dogs play a very minor role among the Kamarakotos and are far less abundant and useful than among many allied Indians.

411 174 144 Most of the Guayana and Amazon Indians seem formerly to have used wooden clubs, often elaborately carved and decorated and of characteristic form for each tribe (see Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, Roth, and, indeed, almost any detailed account of travels in this general region). Used mainly for warfare, now an obsolescent occupation, these clubs seem almost everywhere to be dropping out of use. The Kamarakotos undoubtedly formerly used these, but I saw none among them, and could obtain no evidence that they are now made or used, even, as among many tribes, as ceremonial or dance accessories.

Fishing.

226 242 423 724 185 Fish is a favorite food of the Indians and fishing is a favorite sport and, in the case of fish poisoning, social event. Fishing rights are well defined and jealously guarded — the only serious Indian war that the Kamarakotos remember arose from infringement of these rights and such infringement is still, in theory at least, a capital offense.

Fish are taken with bow and arrow, hook and line, hand net, trap, and poison. Fish spears and casting or set nets appear to be unknown. The principal fishing arrow, waibakasi, has already been described. The trident fishing arrow of some allied tribes was not seen, and this method of catching fish is not now much used by the Kamarakotos, especially as large fish are now rare. In fish-poisoning some of the fish that are stunned but not dead are shot with arrows, usually mere sharpened sticks, but this is more a sport for the boys (and more sportive men) than a serious method of obtaining the fish.

227 172 439 All the Indians of the Guianas and Venezuela and most of those of Brazil by now have steel hooks of foreign manufacture, a favorite article of trade that penetrated the region farther and faster than explorers have. They have a native name, kunoi[y] in Kamarakoto, and doubtless have displaced native wooden hooks although these are now quite unknown to the Kamarakotos who consider

117 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 - Analyst]

226 far the poison has progressed. As soon as the muddy water reaches them, the men begin beating the bundles of poison-vine on rocks, dipping them in the water from time to time, so that the juice runs into the stream, which it turns slightly milky. The women and small boys stand below and follow the poison down the stream, scooping out the fish with nets (irui) or with their hands. When the men can be spared from the beating, they join the women and gather fish also to some extent, but more as an amusement, sometimes quite unnec- [462] essarily shooting them with arrows. As a task, the gathering is assigned to the women. New doses of poison may be beaten into the water at lower points, especially in the larger pools, if needed.

The effect of the poison becomes attenuated quickly, even a large quantity of strong poison having little or no effect a kilometer below the point where fishing is started. A few fish are killed outright, but most of them are only incapacitated, swimming in circles and belly-up, and if they are not gathered those less heavily poisoned seem to recover after a time. The poison has abso- [271] lutely no effect on humans. The Indians wade and swim in heavily poisoned water and even drink it.[120] Our own water supply was poisoned while we were in camp and no one felt the slightest ill effect.

226 The practice of poisoning fish has been bitterly attacked as shockingly 265 wasteful and as exterminating the fish. My impression is that it is not wasteful and does not lead to extermination. Indeed the latter charge is absurd when one considers that the Indians have been poisoning these streams for centuries, perhaps for thousands of years, and that fish are still abundant in them. The poison does not, as has been supposed, sterilize the stream and the short section over which all the fish are removed at any one fishing is quickly repopulated from above and below. It is true that large fish have become uncommon here, partly because the larger and rarer fish are killed off not with poison but with arrows and hooks, and partly because constant fishing prevents any individual's reaching a considerable age although it does give ample time for breeding. As for wastefulness, it must be a rare fish, indeed, that is poisoned but not gathered and eaten. Even the tiniest fish are carefully saved. Those that are lightly poisoned and escape by swimming do not appear to be permanently harmed.

226 A fish-poisoning is also a great social occasion and the stream rings with [527] laughter and chatter — a happy event that leaves no headache as do other Indian social occasions.

[252] Many of the fish gathered are immediately stewed and eaten. Any surplus [262] is sun-dried and saved for the future. [251]

Food Preparation.

252 The Kamarakotos cook all the food that we would ordinarily cook. They do not eat raw meat, fish, or vegetables and very little is eaten raw except

120 [see footnote on p. 321 category 116 - Analyst]

[text continues on p. 137]

fruit, which is a minor part of the diet. The only important raw food is bananas, and these are frequently cooked or may be crushed into a paste which is eaten with casave.

Fire is made with flint and steel (Fig. 23). A few related tribes (notably the Makuchis) make fire, or did until recently, with a wooden drill whirled between the palms of the hands. I did not meet any Kamarakoto who could do this, or who even knew that it was possible. Like machetes or steel arrow points, flint and steel are now so old in the tribe that they believe them to be entirely native. The "flint," kakon, is usually a piece of jasper (or jasperized sandstone), which is abundant in this region, and the steel, kulũ-kulũ (literally "file"), is a small file. The tinder, wato-dapon, is a twist of cotton wrapped with string and carried in a piece of bamboo. Fire can be produced with this apparatus almost as quickly as with a phosphorus match. It is of use principally when traveling, since the fire at a settlement seldom goes out altogether. Small sticks are used for fuel. The same word, apoi, is applied to fire and to firewood, while the more usual Carib word for "fire," wato, is applied only to the apparatus, flint, steel, and tinder, for making a fire.

Fires may simply be built on the ground without any hearth, especially for roasting. Fires for baking casave and similar purposes commonly are also on the surface of the ground surrounded by stones, usually three, of equal height to hold a pot or puitari. Fires for making stews are more often built in a simple but characteristic hearth, apoiˀ piapoˀ. This is merely an excavation in the ground, the main fire-hole lenticular or canoe-shaped, with a recess on each side of the middle so that a round-bottomed pot sits here securely.

Cooking is usually done in the dwelling, where several fires may be kept going simultaneously, but in fair weather much of it is done in the work-shelter or outdoors near the dwelling and work-house.

Casave, the most important single food, is prepared in essentially the same way everywhere in South America so that the process need not be described in detail. The roots, kõsɛ, are first scraped with a knife and then grated into a hollowed log, moru (Fig. 24). The grater, samaːri, is not made by the Kamarakotos but traded from the pabanaton (Maquiritares and allied Indians). All the necessary materials are available to the Kamarakotos, but the manufacture is very tedious and they prefer not to bother with it. Koch-Grünberg has described and illustrated this manufacture among the Yekuanás, a Maquiritare tribe (1923, Vol. III, pp. 347-349 and Plate 61), and the complete agreement between the graters that he describes and illustrates and those used by the Kamarakotos confirms the statements as to their Maquiritare origin. In brief, the grater is a flat board on one side of which innumerable sharp stones or bits of steel (from knives, fish hooks, etc.) are set in holes and fixed with gum.

The grated mass is then placed in a press, called "sebucán" in Venezuelan Spanish and tangõiˀ in Kamarakoto (Fig. 25). This is a long cylindrical

[text continues on p. 138]

basket (see "Textiles"), woven so as to be extensible, closed at one end and open at the other. Each end has a strong basketwork loop. The tangõi? is filled and the loop at the open (upper) end hung over a protruding beam — such beams are specially provided in the dwelling, workhouse, or both. A pole is then passed through the lower loop and one end tied to an upright post. The preparer (always a woman) then sits on the other end, thus extending the tangõi? and causing it to squeeze the grated casave. The liquid runs out the bottom and is saved.

The nearly dry meal is then sifted through a rectangular basketwork sieve, pangai? (see "Textiles") and is forthwith patted into a thin layer on a large flat stove, puitari, under which a fire is built. The resulting large, thin, circular cake is the casave bread, or casave properly speaking, eke. It is somewhat soft when fresh, but may be dried for conservation and then becomes very hard. To the unaccustomed palate it tastes like a fairly good grade of sawdust, but those who eat it regularly maintain that it has a distinct and agreeable flavor. It is the principal food of the Kamarakotos.

Some of the more southern tribes roast the sifted meal and so preserve it without baking it into loaves or sheets, but the Kamarakotos do not do this.

Among other dishes, first place must be given to a sort of soup or thin stew, kumasa, the so-called "pepper-pot" of travelers, universal among Caribs. This is cooked in an earthenware pot over a firehole. There are innumerable varieties of this dish, which consists of water and peppers, with anything else that happens to be at hand, bits of meat or fish, bones, casave meal, bananas or plantains, etc.

Casave juice, kumachi, is added to this or to any boiled dish as a sort of condiment.[121] Varieties in which any ingredient, other than pepper, predominates may be specially named, e.g. kuratano-kumasa, "plantain soup or stew," just as we name soups. Vegetables, particularly roots like the varieties of Dioscorea, are often boiled whole or in large pieces instead of being mashed into a kumasa. This dish is called putosa, e.g. napuei-putosa, boiled mapueyes. The root vegetables and plantains are also roasted in hot ashes, pusa, e.g. piricha-pusa, roasted yams.

Aside from its use, principally as scraps and bones, in kumasa, meat may be boiled, woto-erindasa, or roasted on a sort of tripod over the fire, woto-kambwõ.

There is no local source of salt and long periods may pass without any being used, but the Kamarakotos are eager for it and have long traded for it through neighboring tribes. Even when available it is used sparingly and the Indians found most of our food so salty as to be inedible. Much of their food is so peppery as to be inedible to us, and the extensive use of peppers doubtless counteracts the flatness of unsalted food. Their root vegetables doubtless naturally contain enough salts to sustain life.

121 [see footnote on p. 321, category 116 – Analyst]

typical Kamarakoto combination of elements. It would be fascinating to trace this history and this has been done to a very limited extent, but from the present point of view all these elements are properly relegated to one level. This is true even though some of the aboriginal culture elements may have arisen or may have reached the Kamarakotos in post-Columbian times. The sequence is not here exactly recoverable and even an innovation within the last few years must be considered as fully aboriginal if it was not effected by any European influence. For present purposes these things are, then, "the old," and anything resulting from European influence is "the new."

Innovation, in this sense, began at the instant when Indians sighted Columbus's ships in 1492 and has continued with acceleration since that time. From the start the Indians found some European imports so useful to their own way of life that they accepted them at once and these things, once available in any quantity, spread so rapidly that they were soon in use by Indians who had never seen a white man. Steel knives and the banana are cases in point, both imports but so anciently and so thoroughly naturalized that they are today integral parts of most purely Indian cultures.

The Kamarakotos fully shared in this now old spread of introduced culture elements. It is not known and it does not particularly matter whether they received them from Europeans when the missions and the conquistadors invaded the Orinoco and the Caroni or whether they received them from other Indians. They belong to another cultural level which may for convenience be called the Colonial level (as regards this region). It is characterized by the fact that it was things, not customs or ideas, that were spread, and that they were things that were highly acceptable to an Indian because they made his life easier and more pleasant without in any fundamental way changing it. For instance, the Indians then began to use steel arrowheads, which were better than their old ones, but they continued to use the fully aboriginal bow and arrow. They began to eat bananas, which were a delightful addition to diet, but their aboriginal agricultural system was not changed.

After this, often hardly separable from it in a given case but fundamentally unlike in general, came a second sequence or level of European cultural contacts, one in which direct and close contact with people of partly or wholly European culture was involved. For some Indians this phase also began in colonial times, and even ended there with complete absorption into the modified culture of mainly European origin, but for convenience in speaking of this particular region it may be called the modern level. Many new things are introduced on this level, often more than on the colonial level. Some of them are merely improvements on colonial innovations. For instance, the colonial flint and steel replaced the aboriginal fire drill and now the modern match will eventually replace the flint and steel, all without any profound cultural significance. The modern level is characterized, however, by definite changes in modes of

101 101. These particular Arekunas have no tribal name. The Taurepanes, like the Kamarakotos, are also Arekunas but of a more or less definable tribal group within the Arekuna horde.

173 102. According to the legend of an Indian war perhaps 75 to 100 years
161 ago, the tribe was then decimated, but in the following generation or two increased until it was more numerous than now.

551 103. One small boy, with a Spanish name, revealed his Indian name to
114 a member of our party with whom he was on particularly close terms, but he immediately regretted it and denied that he had done so. As I did not myself hear the name I do not record it.

561 104. As a joke, names of members of our expedition were given to
177 several Indians who had not had Spanish names and these were accepted and used by the Indians themselves.

343 105. At a dance we attended, drinkers who had become unconscious
273 were stowed away in the work-house as long as the hammock-supply held out.

342 106. Most of the expedition's thatching was with Mauritia leaves, but
124 the Indians pointed out to me (quite correctly) that they did not bother to make
122 as good houses for us as for themselves. I also suspect that they were conserving the dwindling supply of easily available Oenocarpus leaves for their own use.

241 107. For convenience and in accord with English usage, I shall call the plant and its product casave (or cassava), but properly speaking the plant is "yuca" (which of course has nothing to do with the plant called "yucca" in North America) and only the prepared root is "casave." The Kamarakotos call
[262] the plant kosɛra, the root kõsɛ, and the prepared bread eke.

[114] 108. This is unusual among related tribes and we were not there in the
[462] planting season, but the Indians unequivocally informed us that planting is man's work.

[173] 109. As may be seen in Koch-Grünberg, the Taurepanes, at least, have
[177] legends which as a whole are pre-Columbian and in which bananas play a role, perhaps as intrusions — but perhaps because they really were known then?

237 110. In passing, I may mention that the Indians often stick the jawbone of an eaten animal into the sticks in the inside of the roof and leave it there.
[211] They maintain that this has no more significance than to remind them of a